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ABSTRACT

The School-Based Management Project was designed to determine how School-Based Management (SBM), when combined with curriculum and instruction reform, could work to improve the performance of schools. This report presents findings of a study that examined American, Canadian, and Australian schools that exhibited a range of success in restructuring curriculum and instruction and improving performance. The researchers visited 40 schools that had been operating under SBM for at least 3 years and conducted interviews with over 400 school-community members. The report summarizes findings from the interviews and from the archival and survey data collected during site visits. The study used an organizational lens to explore the differences between actively restructuring and struggling schools. The data indicate that certain organizational conditions were strongly associated with greater organizational learning and integrating processes. Decentralized management worked best when the following four organizational resources were available to the decentralized unit: power, knowledge and skills, information, and rewards. Three additional organizational conditions were also critical for explaining the differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools: an instructional guidance mechanism, leadership, and resources. The findings led to the development of the following model: (1) Actively restructuring schools have more of the conditions in place that support organizational learning and integrating processes; (2) the existence of these organizational learning and integrating processes enables more innovative teaching practices; and (3) as a result, the presence of organizational conditions enables schools to adopt more innovative teaching practices, both directly and indirectly. Finally, the transition to SBM requires pervasive and deep changes (change in almost

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all aspects of the organizations and a fundamental change in people's understanding). (Contains 31 references.) (LMI)

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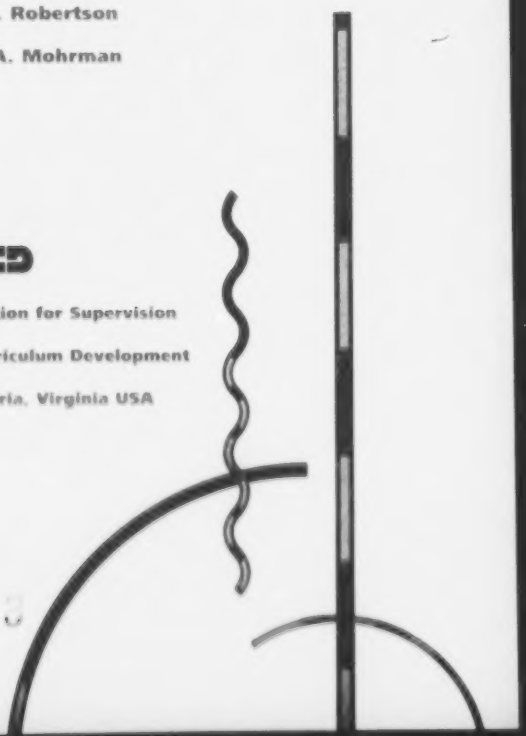

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We studied 30 schools in the following 9 school districts in the United States:

- Bellevue, Washington
- Chicago, Illinois
- Denver, Colorado
- Jefferson County, Kentucky (visited twice)
- Milwaukee, Wisconsin
- Prince William County, Virginia
- Rochester, New York
- San Diego, California
- Sweetwater (National City), California

We also visited 6 schools in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, and 4 in Victoria, Australia (visited Australia twice).

The research also has depended on the wisdom and hard work of others, including Kerri Briggs, Eleanor Odden, John Smithson, Roxane Smyer, and Paula White, who helped plan the studies, collect the data, and analyze and critique the results. We owe a special debt to Edward Lawler III (University of Southern California), Allan Odden (University of Wisconsin-Madison), and Andrew Porter (University of Wisconsin-Madison). The conclusions we report depend in important ways on their powerful intellectual contributions and dedicated, enthusiastic collaboration.

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The Center on Educational Governance combines research aimed at building new theories about what makes schools work with action research and dissemination activities to spread best practices broadly and deeply. It brings together researchers from various disciplines for the joint exploration of organizational, political, and economic issues critical to restructuring education for high performance.

Our aim with this book is to provide useful information to the many educators across the country engaged in the difficult process of school reform.

Priscilla Wohlstetter
Amy N. Van Kirk
Peter J. Robertson
Susan A. Mohrman

Introduction

Whether under the banner of community participation, decentralization, or teacher empowerment, school-based management (SBM) has been on the educational reform agenda for decades. Now it is gaining support as a means to improve school performance. But the specific process by which SBM is supposed to lead to performance improvement has received little attention, and efforts to achieve improvement goals have been hit-or-miss.

So far, there is scant evidence that schools get better just because decisions are made by those closer to the classroom (Jenkins, Ronk, Schrag, Rude, and Stowitschek 1994; Malen, Ogawa, and Kranz 1990; Summers and Johnson 1995). That deceptively simple change in how schools are managed and governed—as attractive as it is to many teachers, principals, and parents—turns out to be relatively meaningless unless it is part of a focused, even passionate, quest for improvement. A more promising perspective is that as schools gain more experience with SBM, they will be better able to use school-based processes to improve school performance (Johnson and Boles 1994).

The School-Based Management Project was designed to determine how SBM, when combined with curriculum and instruction reform, could work to improve the performance of schools. To accomplish this goal, we studied U.S., Canadian, and Australian schools that exhibited a range of success in restructuring curriculum and instruction and improving performance. The schools we visited had been operating under SBM for at least three years. In all, we visited 40 schools and interviewed more than 400 people, everyone from school board members and superintendents to principals and teachers to parents and students. This book summarizes findings from those interviews and from the archival and survey data collected during our site visits. (Appendix A provides a complete list of the publications and papers based on this research.)

Classifying Restructuring and Struggling Schools

If SBM serves as a mechanism to enable participants to improve school performance, then a key question focuses on the nature of the reforms that would lead to such improvements. Many proponents view the adoption of new curriculum content, instructional practices, and assessment approaches as critical elements of the required reform.

The following teaching and learning innovations have been found to lead to improved school performance. We used them to identify our study schools as being either actively restructuring or struggling.

- **Teaching for Understanding.** This effort encompassed activities oriented toward higher-order thinking skills. These skills were evidenced by problem solving and creating instead of simply reproducing knowledge, greater use of interdisciplinary curriculums and cooperative learning, and assessment on samples of work that illustrate understanding and application rather than memorization and reproduction.

- **Use of Technology.** Technology use was reflected by the ability to use the tools of the future workplace—in particular, a greater emphasis on the use of technology as a tool for learning and producing. It included such computer tasks as math calculations, writing, and searching the Internet for background information.

- **Educating All Students.** Reforms in this direction included individualized instruction, nongraded classrooms, and mainstreaming of students with special needs.

- **Integrated Services.** Efforts in this area encompassed *internal integration* through team teaching, that is, teams of teachers taking responsibility for a larger portion of the learning of a defined group of students. *External integration* was evidenced by the development of links to the community for educational purposes along with links to

other relevant community services, such as agencies providing social and medical services.

Actively restructuring schools had two or more of these teaching and learning innovations in place and were using SBM to improve school performance. Struggling schools typically had one or none of these teaching and learning innovations in place.

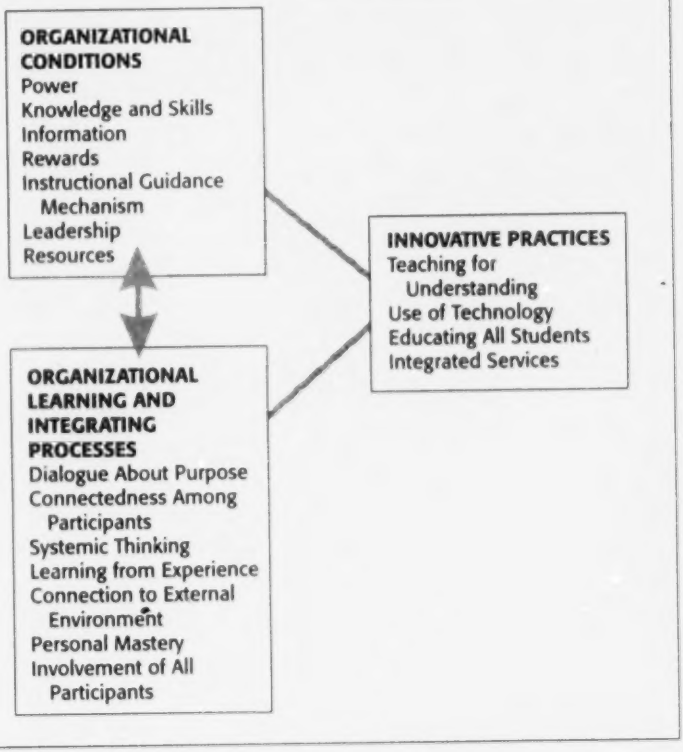
Our focus on innovative practices within the classroom is based on the belief that classroom change has to occur before changes in student performance can be observed. Teaching and learning innovations as school performance variables are of great importance if you accept the premise that schools have to develop new and different approaches to meet the more stringent educational requirements in a changing society and to meet the needs of a changing population of students. Although many SBM schools are not generating significant change, all of our districts had examples of schools that were using site-based mechanisms to make a difference. The actively restructuring schools were implementing classroom changes and working hard to make a difference in student outcomes.

An Overview of Our Findings

Based on this distinction between schools that were successful with SBM and those that were not, we developed the following conceptual lens to examine how SBM could work to improve the performance of schools (Figure I.1.)

The basic premise of our model is that effective SBM results when districts and schools establish organizational conditions that foster involvement, and these conditions provide the context necessary for promoting organizational learning and integrating processes. In turn, these learning and integrating processes enable participants to generate, implement, and become effective at applying new approaches to curriculum and instruction. In sum, our model makes three basic

FIGURE 1.1
A LENS FOR EXAMINING SCHOOL-BASED MANAGEMENT



hypotheses about the differences in performance between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools.

1. Actively restructuring schools have more of the conditions in place that support organizational learning and integrating processes.

2. The existence of these organizational learning and integrating processes enables more innovative teaching practices.

3. As a result, the presence of organizational conditions enables schools to adopt more innovative teaching practices, both directly and indirectly.

Throughout our research, we found evidence in support of our model. First, the existence of more organizational conditions was strongly associated with more organizational learning and integrating processes. Creating the organizational conditions for high involvement led to involvement in improvement. We found, for example, that setting in place systems for sharing information resulted in people being well informed, but it also resulted in them being connected to one another, having greater connection to what was going on in the environment, and being able to focus on the performance of the organization and to learn from it. Creating forums for decision making had a similar effect of connecting people, allowing them to learn from one another and enabling them to take a systemwide view.

Second, we found that more organizational learning and integrating processes provided for more innovative teaching practices. The presence of learning and integrating processes in our actively restructuring schools led to the establishment of a more effective learning community composed of administrators, teachers, parents, and students committed to continuously evaluating the restructuring process, learning from mistakes, and integrating changes as needed. As the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools (Brandt 1995) has found, these learning communities are critical for fundamentally changing teaching and learning practices and improving school performance.

Last, we found that more organizational conditions enabled more innovative teaching. We found that the devolution of power to the school did not necessarily lead to changes in teaching and learning. Instead, the more power was accompanied by the other critical organizational conditions presented in our model, the more likely innovative teaching and learning practices would result. Similar findings have been discovered in other studies of SBM and school restructuring (i.e., Elmore 1995; Murphy and Beck 1995; Newmann, Marks, and Gamoran 1995).

From our study, it was clear that the potential benefits of SBM, particularly improved school performance, depended both on a set of

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organizational conditions—conditions that depended very heavily on the design of the SBM program—and on the learning and integrating processes that were established in the school. For example, whether the school could tailor decisions and resources to the needs of the local community depended on having authority over pertinent resources—budget, staffing, and curriculum—and on having an effective means to register and respond to community needs. Not all programs transferred such authority in all these areas, and not all programs established an effective means to link to the community. We found that within the same district some schools were able to form effective school-level governance mechanisms and focus on school improvement while others fought for power, focused on win-lose decisions, concentrated on inconsequential routine decisions, and paid little attention to generating a vision and plan for school improvement. The differences across sites went well beyond the structure of the SBM program itself and included other aspects of the school and district organization such as the training and development support for new ways of operating, the information available to inform SBM decisions, and the development of clear values and purposes.

This book presents our findings about the differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools in terms of both organizational conditions and learning processes. Slightly more than half the schools studied could be characterized as actively restructuring, meaning that reform efforts had successfully produced changes in curriculum and instruction. The other half were struggling, meaning they were going through the motions of SBM, but little change had occurred.

Using an organizational lens, we explored the differences between actively restructuring and struggling schools. This organizational lens was developed in part from research conducted in the private sector that suggests decentralized management works best when the following four organizational resources are available to the decentralized unit (Lawler 1986):

- **power** to make or influence decisions;
- **knowledge and skills** to perform effectively, including good decision-making and problem-solving skills;
- **information** upon which good decisions can be made; and
- **rewards** for performance.

Furthermore, we hypothesized that three additional organizational conditions were also critical for explaining the differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools:

- **an instructional guidance mechanism**, a school vision or mission statement, and district or state guidelines focused on instructional improvement;
- **leadership** that provided cohesion and focus to restructuring efforts; and
- **resources** to carry out the changes taking place.

Chapters 1 through 7 examine findings related to organizational conditions and how these conditions affected both learning processes and teaching practices. Chapters 8 and 9 present findings about learning processes and teaching practices, how they interacted, and the implications of innovative teaching practices for school performance.

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1

Power

Case Study: Power

Key Elements of Successful Schools

At Nixon High School,[1] the Site-Based Decision-Making council (SBDM) was created along with seven task forces to study specific issues. The SBDM council had 21 members: 6 teachers, 2 classified (from the office and custodial staff), the principal, 6 parents, 2 students, and 4 representatives from the business community. Although the school principal served on the council, she did not chair it; that position was held by a teacher who also happened to be one of the union representatives at the school.

The teaching faculty on the council were elected by the constituencies they represented. There were four representatives, one each from the math, science, social studies, and English departments. In addition, two at-large members were elected to represent teachers in

[1]For confidentiality reasons, we cannot provide names of the actual schools we studied. The names used here are fictitious. Generally speaking, the descriptions represent composites of schools and not a single school.

smaller departments: physical education, special education, and fine arts. Parents on the SBDM council were elected by the school's PTSA. The SBDM council operated by consensus decision making and had final approval on ideas generated by the task forces.

At first the council had fewer than 21 members, with only one or two parents and no business representatives. The principal, however, believed it was important to develop strong ties with the broader community in which the high school was located. Membership was raised to 21 to accommodate greater numbers of parents and other community representatives. One of the business representatives offered a conference room for the large group's meetings, and council members decided that enlarging the council was, on the whole, a good idea. The wide range of perspectives stimulated useful debate and exchange.

The SBDM council was responsible for selecting the principal and for filling teacher vacancies when they arose. The council, with assistance from the budget task force, had control over the mix of positions at the school, categorical funds that came into the school from state and federal sources, and the staff development budget. The council also had considerable say about allocating funds for supplies, materials, books, equipment, and consultants. One of the council's major initiatives was a modified block schedule (with interdisciplinary teaching teams), which was developed with substantial help from several task forces and an outside consultant.

The SBDM council set up task forces in the areas of budget, curriculum and instruction, discipline, motivation, professional development, public relations, and technology. Membership in each task force was voluntary and included between five and seven people. Nearly all task forces had parent and teacher members, and all participants were discouraged from serving on more than one task force. Each task force also had a member of the central SBDM council who served as a liaison between the two decision-making groups. The task forces helped to spread decision-making responsibilities beyond the SBDM council, which effectively prevented elitism and also helped

combat burnout among the few who sat on the council. Whereas the SBDM council met monthly, task force meetings were more frequent, especially when members were working on a "hot" project.

The task forces also provided much needed expertise to the council. For example, when council members realized that technology was a major concern, they assembled a broad-based, seven-member task force with a strong background in computers and electronics. Membership on the task force included one parent, three teachers (including one council representative), two students, and one community member. The SBDM council gave the task force the charge to develop a technology plan for the school that would move computers "from the back of the room to the front." In their recommendations to the SBDM council, the task force included a plan for integrating technology into classroom instruction across subjects and recommendations for future purchases, staff development, and outside funding opportunities. Nearly all of their recommendations were approved by the SBDM council.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

Power at struggling schools usually was vested in a single decision-making council. Members elected to the council were the "in" group, and everyone else felt left out and uninvolved. In addition to elitism, this also created the problem that council members alone had to take care of everything, which resulted in very long meetings and intense feelings of burnout and exhaustion.

At Nixon High School, the "in" group issue was far less prevalent because teachers had so many opportunities to participate in various decision-making groups and because the groups naturally took turns being "center stage," depending on the hot projects for the year. The task forces also were key to the effective use of the council's meeting time. They served as the council's work teams, researching issues and bringing recommendations to the whole group for action. Thus, matters

that were brought to the council already had been studied by a task force and were deemed worthy of further consideration. Implementation issues, including the development of an action plan, also were usually handled by task forces with the council in an oversight role. This kept the council informed but helped prevent council members from being overwhelmed by too many responsibilities.

A second problem at the struggling schools was that councils tended to get stuck on power and housekeeping issues, and the SBM manual—not curriculum and instruction—became the centerpiece of reform. For example, one school spent an entire year fine-tuning its manual and deciding answers to questions such as, "Who should vote at council meetings? If a council member is absent, may she send a designee, and can that person vote? Should the principal have veto power?" In these kinds of schools, many believed that SBM was adopted as an end in itself, so there was little connection between SBM and the reform of curriculum and instruction.

Questions of Power

Questions of power—how much is transferred to the school and who wields it—are among the central SBM policy issues. The districts we studied had devolved significant authority to the schools regarding budget, personnel, and curriculum and instruction decisions. We found meaningful differences, however, in the ways that actively restructuring schools and struggling schools responded to that power.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools typically dispersed power broadly throughout the school organization, and they used councils to coordinate the efforts of various stakeholders involved in the decision-making process. Struggling schools, on the other**

hand, tended to concentrate power in the school site council and got bogged down in power struggles.

Actively restructuring schools involved a variety of stakeholders in school governance, including individuals from the community. Schools that were most successful involved staff, parents, and sometimes students in making decisions. The involvement of all of these constituents was important for building a school community committed to restructuring, a prevalent finding in SBM research (i.e., Guskey and Peterson 1995/1996, Murphy and Beck 1995). In actively restructuring schools, this widespread involvement was accomplished through the use of council subcommittees, whose membership was open to interested parents or teachers, and teacher teams, which were actively included in the consensus-building process for school decisions.

These schools created multiple teacher-led decision-making teams that cut across the school both horizontally (i.e., sub-school, grade-level) and vertically (i.e., math, science, language arts, and discipline) to involve a broad range of school-level constituents in the decision-making process. In addition to being members of grade-level and subject-area teams, teachers also were members of council subcommittees and other schoolwide committees addressing a site priority or goal. In these schools, it was common to have teachers working on two or more committees. For example, an elementary teacher might serve on a "vertical" work team where representatives of all grades addressed a subject area or a school goal, such as expanding the use of technology in the classroom. In addition, this teacher might serve on a "horizontal" grade-level or subject-area team. Many of these groups were thoughtfully designed to facilitate interaction across the traditional boundaries of departments and grade levels, which helped to minimize balkanization and develop the school as an organization.

These decision-making groups—set up to address such topics as curriculum, assessment, and professional development—also helped

focus participants' energy on specific tasks rather than on abstractions such as "culture" or "empowerment." In the schools where SBM worked and led to innovations in teaching and learning, the decision-making groups tended to be structured formally, with assigned members and regular meeting times. Because many committees cut across grade levels and subject areas, there was wide awareness of the needs of the school as a whole and much more ownership of decisions.

The most effective school councils were those that served largely to coordinate and integrate the activities of the various decision-making groups operating throughout the school, which David (1995/1996) has also found in her studies of SBM. These councils provided direction for the changes taking place and allocated resources to support them, focusing on the needs of the school as a whole rather than on the needs of individual academic departments or teaching teams. Because whole faculties were involved in the decision-making process, not only the select few on the council, the multiple teams and subcommittees also reduced the workload of council members and broadened the commitment to reform.

Struggling schools, on the other hand, tended to concentrate power in a single school council that often was composed of a small group of committed teachers who were painfully aware they did not have broad representation. These schools claimed that power was dispersed, but subcommittees tended to be stalled and councils got bogged down in establishing power relationships. As a result, struggling schools often were preoccupied with which stakeholder group had control instead of how best to manage, which led to unfocused reform efforts. (See Byrk, Easton, Kerbow, Rollow, and Sebring 1994 for similar findings.) Conflict was frequently observed in these schools: turf wars between teacher groups over resources, conflict between teachers and administrators over teacher participation in staff development and school priorities. One struggling school spent almost a year developing a policy manual that specified who had power and under what conditions.

Further, subcommittees and other decision-making groups (if they

existed at all) did not have wide participation; the committed few often felt exhausted and burned-out. At the same time, the teachers who were not involved experienced strong feelings of isolation and alienation in the absence of meetings that allowed them to work with other stakeholders on specific projects, such as developing a schoolwide portfolio assessment system.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools used their decision-making authority to create meaningful changes in teaching and learning. Because power was not widely distributed in struggling schools, the decision-making process typically focused on power relationships.**

Schools where SBM worked dispersed their power, but in addition they used that new power to make decisions that affected teaching and learning and set clear and specific goals to improve school performance. (For similar findings, see also David 1995/1996 and Newmann and Wehlage 1995.) Some actively restructuring schools reallocated staff time to create resource teacher positions, which provided additional assistance to teachers or students. One school worked hard to get its community to agree to lengthen the school day so that teachers could have a common planning time one morning a week when school would start late. Similarly, Guskey and Peterson (1995/1996) found in their study of SBM that some schools rearranged their schedules so that teachers could have time to work together outside their regular teaching schedule.

All of the actively restructuring schools used staff development money on common initiatives focused around improving teaching and learning and implementing innovations in curriculum and instruction. Schools that had the authority to purchase their own services—whether for roof repair or food service—used their savings for instructional

needs. None of these kinds of decisions was cosmetic. These decisions confronted the autonomy, isolation, and turf skirmishes so common in schools, and they facilitated the creation of learning communities centered around teaching and learning. One actively restructuring elementary school agreed to use all of its instructional dollars one year to purchase math manipulatives for the entire school.

As a form of governance, SBM in and of itself will not generate improvement in school performance. Instead, it is simply a means through which school-level decision makers can implement various reforms that can improve teaching and learning. (See also Marks and Louis 1995.) In the struggling schools we visited, we saw little connection between SBM and curriculum and instructional reform. Councils often got bogged down in issues of power—who could attend meetings, who could vote—instead of improving curriculum and instructional practices.

Finding: **Successful SBM required changing roles for the central office personnel as well. Where SBM worked and schools were using their power to improve teaching and learning, central offices had become more service oriented and less mandate minded.**

Making good use of the power accorded schools also depended on changing the traditional roles of the superintendent and central offices. As the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools (Newmann and Wehlage 1995) and Byrk and colleagues (1994) found, schools need political support from the district office in order to be successful. Superintendents in our study helped by making central offices more service oriented: "The schools want helpers, not tellers."

In Edmonton, schools controlled the bulk of money for professional development and maintenance, and they could purchase those services

outside the district. Central office departments offering such services became school-oriented, as they had to sell their assistance to the schools in order to stay in existence. Similarly, district office restructuring and total quality management efforts in San Diego and Prince William County promoted the notion of the schools as customers of district-level departments.

Superintendents also provided schools with support by nurturing a districtwide culture of risk-taking. The superintendent in Jefferson County encouraged schools "to go out on a limb" and supported them by offering extra money for professional development to all schools that voted to adopt SBM. In general, schools needed this support from the central office in order to build local commitment for undertaking the massive task of restructuring.

2

Knowledge and Skills

Case Study: Knowledge and Skills

Key Elements of Successful Schools

At Carter Elementary School, the site council viewed professional development as a high priority. In its first year, the council set up a professional development subcommittee, which was responsible for creating and then implementing a two-year staff development plan. Council members believed that if the school was to be successful in implementing new teaching strategies like cooperative learning and portfolio assessment, all teachers needed to participate in staff development training so they would have a common knowledge base and common skills across individual classrooms.

One of the subcommittee's first tasks was to solicit input from the faculty regarding what kinds of training they viewed as important. Members of the subcommittee did this informally by talking with colleagues in the lunchroom and in the halls and more formally through a survey. Committee members discovered that the faculty wanted specialized training to help them carry out their new subcommittee responsibilities, especially in the areas of budget and personnel, in

addition to training focused on curriculum and instruction. Also apparent was that both teachers and administrators wanted leadership training—how to run effective meetings, how to reach consensus—to help keep meetings brief and productive.

At Carter, the professional development subcommittee was also responsible for arranging training opportunities. The district gave Carter, like every SBM school in the district, control over all professional development funds, which was a line item in the school budget. Further, the school was allowed to shop around for training providers. One thing members of the subcommittee were sure of in their search for providers was that the conventional format of staff development for educators had to be varied. Consequently, the subcommittee made it a policy to offer a mix of formats with very few of the conventional "sit and get" sessions in which teachers passively listen to so-called "experts."

Carter's professional development subcommittee maintained a computerized log of training activities arranged by individual faculty members, including when and where the training took place and the content area of the training. The log helped the subcommittee keep track of which faculty members were participating. This turned out to be a good way to ensure that training opportunities were being distributed equitably.

Over a year of activities, Carter teachers and administrators participated in training offered by many different sources: the district office, a local university, and even a nontraditional business source, which helped with leadership and management skills and group decision making. Whenever possible, the subcommittee contracted with practitioners who had recent, direct experience in their own classrooms and schools. Session formats varied, but hands-on workshops or demonstration lessons often were offered in lieu of seminars. If the training was held off-site, the subcommittee usually selected an appropriate group to attend. Rarely was a single member of the faculty sent alone for training. Sending teams of teachers guarantees an immediate support group and increases opportunities for influencing other staff members.

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Further, the general expectation was that staff members would return to Carter to share their new knowledge and skills with colleagues. Indeed, the school placed a great deal of emphasis on follow-up. Sometimes, in-house workshops and peer coaching were used to help faculty learn and practice the skills and processes necessary to make real change. At faculty meetings, time often was set aside for various staff members to report to the whole faculty, and then the faculty together decided what kinds of follow-up were needed.

Toward the end of the second year, a school norm of continuous improvement began to emerge, and the one-shot, occasional workshop was replaced by ongoing training and support. The professional development subcommittee was one of the busiest assignments, because there was rarely any downtime. Faculty members participated in training activities year-round, and if subcommittee members weren't scouting out new training opportunities, they were busy figuring out how new knowledge and skills acquired by some could benefit the whole school community.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

In the struggling schools, professional development was typically viewed as an add-on activity, something teachers did when they had time or wanted a change of scenery. As a result, the training tended to be sporadic, narrowly focused, and disconnected from schoolwide reform initiatives. These schools rarely had a staff development plan, so teachers typically attended staff development activities by bringing them to the attention of the principal. Consequently, professional development at these schools often became a perk for the favored teachers. It was used more as a reward for the teacher "in group" than as a way to improve the knowledge and skills of the whole school organization. Thus, the benefits of professional development were limited to only a few teachers and their students.

Knowledge and Skills

Power must be accompanied by knowledge of the school and how it operates as an organization so that teachers, parents, and the principal can improve it. Districts considering a move to SBM should be aware that the demand for professional development will increase. We found significant differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools in who was trained, what skill areas were focused on, how long training lasted, and why training was provided.

Finding: **Knowledge and skills development in actively restructuring schools was an ongoing process oriented toward building a schoolwide capacity for change, creating a professional learning community, and developing a shared knowledge base. Struggling schools typically restricted professional development activities to one-shot training sessions for a few teachers.**

Professional development in schools where SBM worked was a very high priority. Developing the knowledge and professional skills of teachers and principals was an ongoing process. Staff members participated in training opportunities on a regular basis rather than sporadically and infrequently, such as when SBM was first adopted. It was not uncommon for an actively restructuring school to have multiyear commitments to professional development, which included all teachers. These schools offered follow-up sessions as well.

In line with the new decision-making responsibilities, actively restructuring schools broadened the subject matter of training and the categories of staff who were trained. As David (1995/1996) and Guskey and Peterson (1995/1996) found, broadening both who was trained and the areas of training was critical for all stakeholders to be active participants in the decision-making process and for teachers to change

their teaching practices and beliefs. In terms of subject matter, professional development activities at actively restructuring schools were oriented toward building a schoolwide capacity for change, creating a professional learning community, and developing a shared knowledge base.

In addition to training in teaching, learning, curriculum, and assessment, schools offered instruction in interpersonal skills (group decision making, consensus building, and conflict resolution); in leadership skills (running meetings, budgeting, and interviewing); and in the process of school improvement. Further, the schools where SBM worked also had greater proportions of the staff take part in professional development. In particular, training in the area of decision-making skills was not limited to members of the school council. As a result, actively restructuring schools had teachers, administrators, office staff, support personnel, parents, and, in some cases at the secondary level, students receiving many different kinds of training.

In contrast, struggling schools typically viewed professional development more as an individual activity rather than as a means of creating a schoolwide capacity for improvement. The target group for training was only the comparatively small number of individuals who sat on the formal site council. Furthermore, professional development at these schools tended to be sporadic. In struggling schools, we found more instances of "one-shot" training of the "go, sit, and get" variety rather than ongoing professional development models. Their training tended to be offered at the start of SBM without ongoing support. One council had been trained in how to make decisions by consensus, but they did not learn how to proceed when they didn't reach consensus. As a result, "meaty" topics were shelved in favor of "easy-to-reach-consensus" topics.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools strategically linked professional development to the school's reform agenda. Struggling schools typically lacked a staff development plan.**

Professional development activities at actively restructuring schools were used more strategically, and they were deliberately tied to the school's reform objectives. These activities often were aligned with the school's mission and goals for improving student performance and introducing innovations in curriculum and instruction, a critical component of effective SBM found by the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools (Newmann and Wehlage 1995). At many of these schools, the council or a separate decision-making group assessed professional development needs and planned and coordinated development activities to meet those needs. Many struggling schools lacked a staff development plan. Usually the principal dispensed funds for training on a case-by-case basis, and there was no schoolwide involvement in deciding who or what the training should involve. As a result, the professional development topics at struggling schools were more likely to be narrowly focused and even out-of-touch with the day-to-day issues faced by teachers. Some teachers were able to opt out of professional development altogether. At one struggling school, more than a quarter of the staff was absent on staff development days.

Finding: **Central offices rarely provided schools with the variety and breadth of professional development activities they needed. As a result, actively restructuring schools sought training from other nontraditional sources.**

As David (1995/1996) and the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools (Newmann and Wehlage 1995) found, districts need

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to provide schools with the professional development resources necessary to undertake the fundamental changes in teaching and learning that occur with successful SBM. We found a critical need to retrain central office administrators who were more accustomed to being enforcers, regulators, and overseers than to responding to requests from schools for technical assistance.

Struggling schools continued to rely on the district for training, and, as a result, the subject matter of professional development activities often was restricted to the topics that were identified by the central office. Actively restructuring schools, on the other hand, more often looked outside the district organization to private companies, universities, and research institutes for technical assistance and training in management and group decision making.

Two of the districts we studied created new organizational arrangements at the associate superintendent level to supply support services to schools: Edmonton's Staff Development Office and Jefferson County's Gheens Academy. Consultants were available for customized campus training, and teachers frequently traveled to the district office for development activities, which were offered after school hours and on weekends to encourage teacher participation. At the other extreme were Prince William County and San Diego, where both superintendents reported that they had initially greatly underestimated the amount of training and development that would be required to support SBM.

As a result of their underestimation, principals and teachers who were responsible for implementing SBM didn't always have the capabilities to take on their new roles and responsibilities. The schools' decreased capabilities, moreover, often greatly curtailed the speed with which participants were able to pick up the SBM ball and run with it.

3

Information

Case Study: Information

Key Elements of Successful Schools

Members of the SBM site council at Ford High School firmly believe that effective communication among the various school stakeholders is a fundamental factor in their success as a decentralized school. Thus, they are more than willing to commit the time, energy, and resources needed to acquire timely and relevant information from these constituents. They also work very hard to make sure that all members of the school and its community stay informed of decisions being made and changes being implemented at the school.

Decision-Making Structures. In addition to the primary SBM council, several teams and committees participate in the decision-making process at the school. In fact, there are enough groups that all teachers are encouraged to join at least one, and most teachers *are* active participants. Likewise, any classified staff member or parent who wants to be involved can also volunteer. These groups design and plan most of the reforms. By delegating the "real work" to these teams, members of the site council are confident that all critical perspectives

are taken into account before they finally make a decision. These teams are a useful forum through which members can consider important information as they discuss ways to improve school performance.

Surveys and Reports. The entire school staff and a sample of students are surveyed for their opinions annually. A survey also is distributed to parents every other year. The results of these surveys, and information about school goals and performance more generally, are published in the budget document the school prepares each year, which is available to anyone who wants to look at it. The school also pays close attention to reports containing data relevant to how well the school is performing, such as trends regarding student achievement, absenteeism, and discipline problems.

Informal Communication. The principal makes a concerted effort to talk with constituents on a regular basis, viewing these "public relations" efforts as a critical part of his job. He regularly attends meetings of parent groups and the student council, makes presentations to community groups such as the Chamber of Commerce and other civic organizations, attends school board meetings, and maintains an open-door policy, encouraging visitors to come in and discuss issues important to them. He also is very visible around the school, chatting with students to help them feel like they know him and to keep a "finger on the pulse" of the school.

Learning About Innovative Practices. People at Ford make an effort to learn about new practices that could be adopted as part of their reform process. For example, they regularly attend conferences and go on site visits to other innovative schools. They bring in staff from other schools or university faculty to share new ideas. Teachers and principals at the school also actively participate in meetings of networks of schools that the district has set up to encourage the schools to share resources and learn from one another, and thus avoid reinventing the wheel.

The decision makers at Ford are thoroughly convinced that their ability to make effective decisions is highly dependent on their access

to timely information. Through the above mechanisms, they stay informed about problems and concerns that need to be resolved and the kinds of programs and practices that could be implemented to address those needs. By widely sharing this information with all stakeholders, discussing what it means and its implications, and basing decisions on that information, the school has made considerable strides in its efforts to become a real learning community.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

Decision makers at struggling schools usually relied on a much more limited range of information to make their decisions. Because fewer people were actively involved in the decision-making process, individuals and groups frequently complained that their perspectives were not taken into account. By not seeking out reliable information on key issues and concerns, decision makers were often less than fully informed about steps that needed to be taken.

These schools also used fewer and less effective methods of communicating with stakeholders. For example, many of them relied primarily on the distribution of site-council meeting minutes or school newsletters to disseminate information. A continuous, multidimensional effort must be made to reach all stakeholders by formal and informal means.

Struggling schools also tended to adopt more of a defensive posture and were thus less interested in or willing to learn about new ideas being adopted elsewhere. External constituents such as parents and community members were more likely to be viewed as outsiders who did not understand what it takes to educate students, and their opinions were not perceived as legitimate. Their involvement was sometimes seen as an intrusion, as a barrier to running the school the way the staff thought was best. These attitudes effectively prevented people at the school from learning about the true nature of the challenges they faced or possible solutions to improve performance.

Effective Management and Information

Effective management requires useful information about the progress an organization is making toward meeting its goals and how customers are perceiving its services. For schools, this includes information about student performance, comparisons with other schools, parent and community satisfaction with the school, and monetary and other resources available. We found significant differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools in what information was collected, how it was shared, and the frequency with which the information was disseminated.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools collected lots of information and used it to meet school priorities for improving teaching and learning. Struggling schools often lacked clear priorities and, as a result, did not gather information systematically or comprehensively.**

The schools in which SBM worked collected and tried to use many kinds of data: district and site revenues, costs, customer satisfaction, school performance, innovations going on in other schools, and information on the environment, including how community members view and interact with the school. As David (1994b) found, schools need sound information about how students are performing and what actions will increase that performance in order to improve teaching and learning.

Most of the actively restructuring schools collected daily attendance and tardy data, often disseminating this information to parents on a regular basis. One secondary school regularly printed out student grade distributions for every class to monitor student and teacher performance. Student performance data were maintained in a variety of forms,

including portfolios and anecdotal records. Actively restructuring schools also piloted narrative report cards, student profiles in reading and mathematics with grade-level expectations, and student profiles in all subject areas.

The schools in which SBM worked also had a strong customer service orientation, which promoted the growth and development of the learning community and helped to determine what information was gathered. Many conducted annual parent and community satisfaction surveys and used the results to help set priorities for the following year. Struggling schools usually lacked this emphasis and focus and, as a result, did not gather information systematically or comprehensively.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools had multiple mechanisms for communicating information to all school stakeholders. Struggling schools, lacking these broad communication networks, encountered suspicion and resistance to council decisions from an uninformed school community.**

The schools where SBM worked used many communication mechanisms to share information. In these schools information not only flowed to the school from the central office but also within the school and out to the community. The multiple vertical and horizontal decision-making groups collected and dispensed information within the school, and they informed parents and the community outside of the school.

All of the actively restructuring SBM schools created networks of teacher teams in which many issues originated and were discussed, and through which a wide variety of information was communicated to all teachers. The net effect was that actively restructuring schools demonstrated much communication and reflective dialogue around specific projects. They consistently described implementation of curriculum and

instruction reforms as a collective effort, with constant problem solving and adjustments as a result of teachers continuously talking about instruction. This reflected the school's effective learning community.

Most of the successful SBM schools were systematic and creative in how they tried to communicate outside the school with parents and the community, relying as much on face-to-face communication as on formal documents. The principals of actively restructuring schools often attended many different types of meetings at which external constituents, such as local business owners, were present to discuss school activities. Many schools held parent-teacher conferences, and some offered classes for parents on topics such as computers and student-parent math activities. Several actively restructuring schools used grant dollars to install voice mail for classroom teachers, while another school hired a part-time ombudsman to serve as a liaison between the school and parent communities.

Among struggling schools, there were few formal mechanisms for sharing information, and the teacher grapevine was often the only means of communication. The information on the grapevine was often incomplete, however, and tended to breed suspicion. In struggling SBM schools, we found that teachers many times were uninformed about schoolwide decisions. As a result, we found several instances of teachers deciding against their peers on the school council because of the mistrust and suspicion that went with the position.

Finding: **Quick dissemination of information was a high priority in actively restructuring schools, which ensured that all stakeholders were aware of the decisions being made. This sharing of information fostered a sense of trust. Districts, however, needed to provide schools with more timely information on the management and operation of the school.**

Schools engaged in SBM need access to timely information organized so that different stakeholders can understand and use it to improve teaching and learning. Actively restructuring schools recognized this need and worked to disseminate information quickly. Several schools scheduled brief grade-level or department meetings immediately after faculty meetings so they could obtain feedback quickly. Two secondary schools used short meetings every morning before school to share information. Grade-level teams met daily or weekly. Content-area teams met at least every two weeks. Committees on school priorities met regularly. Most schools devoted one and sometimes two afternoons a week to rotating committee meetings over a month's time.

One key concern of schools was the generally spotty access to up-to-date data related to school management and operations. Traditionally, corporations and district offices gather aggregate information useful for making systemwide decisions, but this is insufficient in SBM, where schools need easy access to the information as well. (See David 1995/1996 for similar findings.) Victoria's solution was to install an online, interactive computer system in its schools with data on budgets and personnel, student achievement, electronic invoicing and purchasing, and a master schedule. This computer network was by far the most advanced among the districts we studied, although several other districts, including Edmonton and Jefferson County, have linked school sites electronically with the district office. Most schools, however, were not satisfied with their ability to monitor their resources or student data accurately or in a timely manner.

4

Rewards

Case Study: Rewards

Key Elements of Successful Schools

Clinton High School has a School-Based Management Council consisting of 10 certified personnel, 2 noncertified personnel, and 7 parents. In addition, there are six standing task forces: budget/finance, facilities/curriculum, staffing/personnel, recognition, assessment, and restructuring. The council also creates ad hoc committees as needed.

The school spent considerable time in a highly participative process developing a school vision, a set of principles, and instructional objectives and philosophy. Most school development occurs through voluntary but well-attended workshops during the summer, where staff members discuss instructional approaches, set yearly goals, and receive common training. The school also has been an active participant in extensive district training and development offered by a district "academy." Widespread participation in these events helps promote a team spirit among the staff.

There were no direct extrinsic rewards for performance during the first few years of SBM at Clinton. However, the state (Kentucky)

subsequently developed a set of standards that schools were required to meet. Successful schools received a sum of money, and teachers could determine what to do with it. Unsuccessful schools received help in learning how to attain the standards. Teachers reported that this state framework, although overtly resented by many of the staff, motivated behavior. People wanted to attain the standards and receive the money. Despite grumbling, the staff redoubled its effort toward its own instructional vision, which many believed would lead to success with the state framework as well as the stated school goal of providing success for every student through leadership by every teacher.

For example, to reduce reliance on paper-and-pencil examinations, one of the state's required assessment tools was use of performance events. Each school established baseline scores along with performance improvement targets to be achieved over a three-year period. Educators at Clinton established and voluntarily staffed a performance event resource room that students cycled through in order to complete this requirement. This helped the school meet its performance improvement standards in the time allotted.

The district rewarded innovation by providing professional development money to support school plans that pushed the envelope of good teaching. It also provided support in grant writing. The school created an internal mechanism for rewarding new approaches by allowing teachers to submit budget requests for the allocation of grant money to their teams. The school's goal was to attain enough supplemental money to support innovative approaches that involved the vast majority of the staff.

The principal saw it as a major part of her job to support ideas with resources, both as a reward and as recognition of ongoing improvement. Recognition abounded. The principal and teacher leaders created many opportunities to present school accomplishments to each other and to the wider district and community. The principal and council set a tone with continual letters and expressions of appreciation and acknowledgment. A culture developed in which it became expected

and accepted that those contributing to reform received "rewards" in terms of recognition and resources; those not actively involved in the reform process did not obtain such benefits. The major negative was a lack of recognition from the district.

Finally, the evaluation of the school, the principal, and all teachers was based on school performance objectives and vision. The school established tracking mechanisms to look systematically at each student's progress and to provide feedback to teacher teams. Teacher evaluation included qualitative feedback based on peer observations and scrutiny of student work products.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

In almost all struggling schools, very few extrinsic rewards or formal awards were provided at the school, team, or individual level. (It should be noted that financial incentives such as merit-based pay and compensation for extra work were rare in both the struggling and successful schools.)

Teacher evaluations were not explicitly tied to performance at the school, team, or individual level. Often this reflected the fact that good performance was not explicitly defined. In addition, teachers were unaware of one another's accomplishments. The school had few mechanisms for sharing or celebrating individual, team, or school accomplishments.

No concerted efforts were made to provide release time or other forms of support for what innovation did take place. Innovation was just perceived as extra work. And teachers not highly involved in school improvement efforts resented whatever attention and few rewards were provided to innovators.

Rewards and SBM

Rewards are essential for acknowledging the extra effort SBM requires as well as to recognize improvements in teaching and learning. We found that rewarding effort is as problematic in successful SBM schools as it is in other schools, although the actively restructuring schools provided rewards more readily than struggling schools.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools used both monetary and nonmonetary rewards to acknowledge individual and group progress toward school goals more often than struggling schools.**

We found actively restructuring schools using both monetary and nonmonetary rewards to acknowledge effort and recognize improvements in teaching and learning practices. A few actively restructuring schools used monetary rewards, and these rewards usually were given to groups, often schoolwide. Such rewards included differentiated staffing positions with extra compensation for administrative responsibilities, money for professional development, and grants to reimburse teachers for extra time including, in one district, money for council membership.

Differentiated staffing was widely used and accepted as a way of recognizing expertise in Victoria. Some differentiated staffing positions had additional pay and modestly reduced teaching loads. Some positions only came with modestly reduced teaching loads, and others just provided the visibility of being a leader. All of these positions had to be applied for and were allocated to schools according to enrollment.

At the actively restructuring schools, nonmonetary rewards were more readily available than at struggling schools. Many principals at successful SBM schools regularly recognized individuals for work well done; in other schools, principals preferred to recognize group efforts

in order to create a sense of community achievement. The principals used various reward strategies, including "pats on the back" and notes of appreciation in school newsletters. At one high school, the principal began every faculty meeting with a list of thank you's. We also heard about teachers informally recognizing one another's efforts; parents giving thank-you luncheons for teachers; and the scheduling of year-end functions with free dinners, flowers, and parties to celebrate the achievement of school goals. Furthermore, the status of additional responsibilities also served as a nonmonetary reward in the actively restructuring schools. Guskey and Peterson (1995/1996) found that these nonmonetary rewards, mainly in the form of acknowledgments, do much to encourage involvement.

Struggling schools evidenced distrust, and public recognition was greeted with cynicism. Even monetary rewards were suspect in these schools. Furthermore, the lack of consensus around specific outcomes for schooling was an impediment to establishing a reward structure in struggling schools. Various stakeholders typically did not agree on outcomes, and rewards were, at best, indirect and unfocused.

Finding: **The area of compensation structures was one of the most untouched elements of SBM, but teachers in both actively restructuring and struggling schools were beginning to wonder if they could maintain their level of involvement over the long haul.**

It has been argued that intrinsic rewards are sufficient to motivate and reinforce teachers. We found that in the actively restructuring schools, many teachers were indeed excited and motivated by the climate of professional collaboration and learning. We also found, however, that some teachers who had been working with SBM for several years were tired and wondered if they could maintain their level of involvement in changing teaching and learning practices and im-

proving school performance. People's energies were being sapped by the new ways schools were being managed—lots of committee meetings—and by the extra work required to change schools. Participants were spending lots of time learning about innovations beyond their immediate environment; bringing the innovations into their schools and testing them out; and then, based on trials, either refining implementation or starting all over with a different innovation. Unfortunately, too many districts mistakenly assumed that no extra energy and commitment is needed to undertake successful SBM. Our research found that actively restructuring schools placed high demands on all individuals involved. The argument that intrinsic rewards are sufficient to motivate and reinforce teachers for engaging in SBM over the long haul may be too optimistic. As other studies of SBM have also found, dwindling interest and motivation to be involved in the decision-making process among both parents and teachers is common in SBM schools where there are few rewards (i.e., David 1994a, b; Guskey and Peterson 1995/1996).

The subject of compensation structures is one of the most untouched elements of SBM. Districts choosing to implement a decentralized, high-involvement approach to organization and management would be wise to take lessons from organizations outside education and restructure compensation. The form of changed compensation packages can vary, but providing compensation for the vast array of knowledge and skills that teachers must develop to implement innovations in curriculum and instruction is a core element that should probably be included in any revised compensation plan (Lawler 1986, 1990).

5

Instructional Guidance Mechanism

Case Study: Instructional Guidance Mechanism

Key Elements of Successful Schools

Curriculum and instruction at Johnson Elementary School is guided by state learning goals, curriculum frameworks, and an accountability assessment system—which are all connected. The system provides a clear direction for reform of curriculum and instruction, and Johnson has targeted many reform efforts at helping teachers implement the frameworks and helping students achieve learning goals and do well on the assessments. To accomplish this, Johnson faculty first created their own vision for the school. They then developed curriculum guides to help students achieve state performance standards.

School Vision. Every August the faculty at Johnson Elementary School gets together for a retreat to plan for the coming school year. At one of these retreats several years ago, faculty members decided it

was time to rethink curriculum priorities. The retreat was a perfect time, argued one teacher, "because all faculty are here, and because all of us will be affected all of us should be involved in setting school priorities."

From this retreat emerged the school motto: "Success each day the high-tech way." At the request of the SBM council, four of the school's subcommittees set about to help the school achieve its new mission. The curriculum committee focused on developing curriculum guides that included technology across the curriculum. The parent involvement committee spearheaded an after-school parent-student computer education program. The professional development committee visited other schools and area businesses for technology ideas. And a team of three teachers wrote a proposal for a federal grant program to secure money to support efforts to integrate technology into the curriculum and management of the school.

State Learning Goals and Curriculum Frameworks. As at all schools in Kentucky, Johnson students are expected to achieve 75 learner outcomes. These outcomes represent a common vision of what schools in the state should be like and what students should know and be able to do. At Johnson, there is much dialogue about the learner outcomes at SBM council meetings and subcommittee meetings. The learning goals guide reform efforts at the school, and classroom teachers typically post the list on their classroom walls.

Some of the outcomes are focused on fine arts, leading Johnson to hire a part-time music teacher so that all students would have music once a week. The state also offers curriculum frameworks that guide curriculum development at the school. The frameworks set out themes, topics, and objectives that help establish a clear direction for curriculum and instruction. But the teachers also believe they have considerable flexibility, and the school has worked hard to be creative in their lesson plans (see below).

Curricular Materials. The curriculum committee at Johnson developed curriculum guides to tie classroom activities to the state's learner outcomes. To accomplish this, the committee solicited lesson

plans on particular themes from individual teachers across all grade levels. Each lesson plan specifies the particular learner outcomes the lesson is fashioned to achieve, instructional objectives, skills to be developed, necessary resources and materials, and how to assess student performance.

One lesson in the guide on promoting good health helps students learn how to read and interpret nutrition labels on various foods. The lesson, in keeping with the school's technology thrust, requires students to use calculators to compute the data and then to put the data into a computer so that they can compare foods across and within the four food groups.

Accountability Assessment. The state's assessment system is tied to the learner outcomes and the state frameworks. Teachers at Johnson know that how their students do on the state assessment matters. The school will get a bonus if students do well and continue to show progress; if not, it's possible that the state will close down the school. The state's assessment system, which includes achievement tests, portfolios, and performance events, has led the SBM council to initiate changes in how students are taught and assessed.

Teachers at the school received additional training in authentic assessment, and portfolios were instituted at all grade levels. The school also created a performance lab where students could practice performance events all year long. Taken together, these changes in curriculum and instruction have produced some added benefits. Teachers at Johnson feel a strong sense of pride and believe they are empowered to make a difference. With the state's guidance, the teachers have developed the means for helping their students achieve.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

Although struggling schools may operate in a district or state context that provides a clear direction for curriculum and instruction, they run into trouble at the local level in setting a vision or mission for

the school. Sometimes the principal creates a vision and then tries to impose it on the school community. Almost never is the principal successful in developing a whole school commitment. The vision inevitably is viewed as "the principal's vision."

Another problem occurs when the school has a vision, but it's filed away in a drawer somewhere, likely developed in response to a district request. The vision is neither active nor living. Few of the faculty can recite it, and the vision rarely affects what happens in the classroom. When the vision is created by the SBM team, shared widely, edited, adopted broadly, and constantly referred to at meetings and planning sessions, it is far more likely to take hold.

Focus and Direction for Restructuring

An instructional guidance mechanism offers focus and direction to restructuring efforts by providing common principles upon which to base decisions. We found significant differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools in whether or not an instructional guidance mechanism existed and, if so, how it was used.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools had an active, living vision while struggling schools were unable to reach consensus on a common direction for teaching and learning.**

Schools that were most successful in implementing change had a well-defined vision of their mission, values, and goals regarding student outcomes—a vision that guided curriculum and instruction reform as well as conversation in decision-making forums. This instructional guidance mechanism served as a constant focus on student learning that was continuously referred to during the decision-making process

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and was critical to the success of SBM (see also David 1995/1996; Gleason, Donohue, and Leader 1996; Guskey and Peterson 1995/1996; Newmann and Wehlage 1995).

In general, the instructional guidance mechanism in actively restructuring schools was based on district or state guidelines for curriculum and instruction, such as those produced by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics. These district or state guidelines provided direction to reform efforts, a critical condition for successful restructuring that David (1995/1996) found in her study of SBM, but they were flexible enough to be adapted to the local context.

Many of the people we interviewed said the guidelines—in the form of performance standards, curriculum frameworks, or assessment systems—specified the "what" of the curriculum but that the "how" was left up to them. At some actively restructuring schools, for example, teachers themselves wrote a separate curriculum framework for each content area; other teachers used sections from existing frameworks to come up with their own approaches.

The need for a clear vision and specific goals for meeting that vision has been demonstrated in other studies of SBM as well (i.e., Deal and Peterson 1994, Guskey and Peterson 1995/1996). In actively restructuring schools, the instructional guidance mechanism articulated what the school was all about and served as a focus for reform activities and the SBM council, in particular. Successful schools also benefited from a shared understanding and widespread commitment to the instruction and curriculum approaches that had been adopted. Struggling SBM schools, on the other hand, often had power and control issues that interfered with setting a vision. Even when they had a vision statement, it was not a living document that was mentioned frequently. Without such a vision, struggling schools were usually less able to do much to achieve real reform.

6

Leadership

Case Study: Leadership

Key Elements of Successful Schools

All constituents of Reagan Elementary School widely acknowledge that school leadership is very effective and a primary reason for the success of the school's reform effort under SBM. While many staff and even some parents play key leadership roles, everyone believes, with good reason, that much of the credit for the quality of leadership at the school can be attributed to the hard work, enthusiasm, and management style of the principal.

More than just a strong instructional leader, the principal is seen by others as a real change agent and as a true "facilitator" of the reform process. She has a strong personality as well as a clear set of ideas about the direction she wants the school to take. But she works hard to accomplish her objectives *through* other people by seeking out their input, getting them committed to new ideas, and delegating to them the responsibility for implementing the changes needed to improve the school.

She is also a very effective "manager" in the sense that she

recognized the need to design and operate the school as an "organizational system" in such a way that the process of reform was encouraged and allowed to take place. For example, she paid a lot of attention to the appropriate design of the school structure necessary to generate active involvement in decision making. She focused professional development activities to build the knowledge and skills for implementing the changes required to move the school forward in the direction she desired. She communicated effectively with all constituent groups, keeping them informed of what the school was doing as well as soliciting their input and reactions to the changes. She worked hard to acquire additional resources and external linkages, which could be leveraged to improve educational opportunities at the school. And she found ways to reward people for their efforts and contributions, even if the gestures were something small like thank-you notes or public recognition for a job well done.

While the principal's leadership was critical, she also made sure that many others from the school community took on leadership roles. Some of these roles were formal positions, such as committee chairs, heads of task forces, and liaisons to parent advisory groups and community and business organizations. Just as important, however, were the informal leadership roles that people adopted.

In many cases, the principal encouraged staff members to become "champions" of specific reforms they were particularly interested in, such as the development of portfolio assessments or a writing across the curriculum project. She sent teachers and parents to conferences to give talks on the changes taking place at the school. Teachers who had received training on a particular topic were asked to lead a professional development workshop at the school for other interested staff members. In many ways, teachers themselves became the instructional leaders at the school, while the principal maintained a broader focus on the school as a system.

By delegating tasks and encouraging others to take initiative, the principal helped to create a pattern of shared leadership at the school.

In this way, a sense of collective responsibility for the success of the reform effort emerged, and people felt empowered to design and implement the new practices needed to achieve the school's vision.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

Principals at struggling schools often were unwilling to share power with others for fear that they would lose control. As a result, they failed to exert leadership at all, and instead trapped themselves in a style of micromanagement that undermined staff motivation, caused internal power struggles among administrators and staff, and suffocated the reform process.

In contrast, some principals adopted a management style that was too laissez faire. Although they intended to allow participation by others, they failed to provide any meaningful direction for the school. As a result, no one else took any real initiative, and the decision-making body ended up focusing primarily on trivial issues. Furthermore, the leadership vacuum frequently resulted in turf battles as different groups or factions fought to enhance their own narrow interests rather than focus on what was good for the school as a whole.

A third problem occurred when the principal focused too narrowly on curriculum and instruction issues without attending to the broader range of organizational factors needed to support effective teaching and learning. While strong instructional leadership is important, effective schoolwide reform was hindered when this became the sole responsibility or focus of the principal. Meaningful improvement was less likely to occur if the school's leadership did not focus on the bigger picture, such as the systemic requirements underpinning successful implementation of change.

The Critical Role of Leadership and SBM

Leadership is critical during restructuring, and we found that successful SBM did not mean that the principal no longer had a role to play. We saw evidence in some schools that principals were moving away from being the instructional leader, while in others the principal concentrated on conveying a strong instructional vision. There were significant differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools in the roles the principal played, how school staff responded to that leadership, and the emergence of teacher leaders.

Finding: **In actively restructuring schools, principals were moving toward the role of manager and facilitator of change, and they worked hard to foster a strong sense of a school learning community. Principals in struggling schools often operated from their own agendas rather than building a common one. This stance alienated school staff and ultimately led to the rejection of principal leadership.**

Principals at actively restructuring schools played a key role in several areas: dispersing power, promoting a schoolwide commitment to learning and growth in skills and knowledge, getting all teachers to participate in the work of the school, collecting information about student learning, and distributing rewards. These successful principals motivated staff, created a team feeling on campus, fostered the school's learning community, and provided a vision for the school.

Successful principals also shielded teachers from issues in which they had little interest or expertise so they could concentrate on improving teaching and learning. The principals often were described as facilitators and leaders, as strong supporters of their staffs, and as the people who brought curriculum and instruction innovations to the

school and moved reform agendas forward. These same descriptions were found by Murphy and Beck (1995) in their study of SBM.

In struggling schools, principals were not routinely respected as legitimate managers. A necessary condition for successful restructuring was a minimum amount of control, specifically focused on factors that affected teaching and learning. But it did not follow that more control led to more, or more positive, changes. SBM was not successful when principals worked from their own agenda instead of helping to develop a common one. This outcome has been found in other studies of SBM as well (i.e., Lindle 1995/1996).

In many struggling schools, staff members perceived their principals as too autocratic. They reported that the principals appeared to dominate all decisions or, in other cases, were insufficiently involved. Principals of struggling schools often loaded up the site council with trivial details and typically identified, on their own, a vision for the school, presenting it as a fait accompli to the staff. Many times this led to a power struggle between teachers and the principal, and, in some schools, the faculty simply rejected the principal's unilateral agenda for change. Teachers frequently referred to "the principal's vision" in these schools, and they were unwilling to accept guidance and leadership from the principal because they felt little sense of ownership and accountability to the plan.

Finding: **Leadership in actively restructuring schools was shared leadership, and there often emerged a cadre of teacher leaders who took on the various governance issues surrounding SBM.**

While successful principals often spearheaded the effort to develop a school mission, actively restructuring schools also had a cadre of teacher leaders taking on many of the governance issues surrounding SBM. These responsibilities included material selection, budget devel-

opment, and professional development schedules. (See also Gleason, Donohue, and Leader 1996.) In many cases, teachers in actively restructuring schools took the lead in introducing ideas about new instructional practices. Furthermore, these teacher leaders were effective at ensuring that all stakeholders felt welcome to participate in decisions, particularly those that concerned them directly, and in broadening and sustaining the school's commitment to reform.

As David (1995/1996) found, what emerged from this cadre of teacher leaders was shared leadership and accountability to the school-wide program among a broad range of individuals throughout the school. This picture of broad, participative leadership differs starkly from the struggling schools, where teachers who introduced new practices often did it as individuals and played no real leadership role with the rest of the school.

7

Resources

Case Study: Resources

Key Elements of Successful Schools

The Bush Elementary School management council consisted of 14 members including 6 faculty members, 5 parent representatives, a representative from the business community, a representative from the central office, and the principal. Grade-level committees, a faculty advisory committee, and a parent advisory committee each had unique responsibilities and funneled input and plans through the management council. The management council also had a number of subcommittees including ones for budget and for professional development.

This school was exceptionally entrepreneurial in acquiring and applying resources. The principal made a practice of "keeping her ear to the ground" and always volunteered her school to be a pilot site for various programs. For example, she was the first volunteer to commit her school to train for and test a computer network being designed for sharing instructional materials and creating performance databases. She noted that schools that joined a project early always got more resources and could tailor the pilot program to fit with their school objectives.

Later on, district resources tended to be reduced or rigidly distributed.

This principal also watched for district resources that could be brought into the school to support their efforts. She noted that Bush was one of the few schools to use the services of district facilitators during the early years of school-based management, so they were able to obtain extensive assistance before the facilitators' time was spread too thin. The council didn't bother too much about whether the district resources and programs were completely aligned with the philosophy and direction of the school. They felt that they could extract some value from most anything, pick and choose services, and convince district employees to fit in with their direction.

In the early stages of SBM, Bush took extensive advantage of a district partnership with Xerox, which provided free group-process and school-improvement training under the rubric of total quality management. Furthermore, Bush arranged with Xerox trainers to come directly to the school for training, facilitation, and support with conflict resolution. The school also was disproportionately represented in a series of partnership workshops conducted by IBM personnel offering educators the opportunity to envision the school of the future, including its application of technology. Again, Bush's philosophy was that "we can learn something worthwhile from all these sources, and we're smart enough to take away the parts that support our direction."

Entrepreneurial behavior also extended to external grants. The school was one of the first to apply to be a state "transformational school," which provided a large grant for planning and developing a model of holistic, integrated education. The council decided to free up a resource teacher half time for grant writing under the theory that the school could increase its total resources through this teacher's work. Bush received many small grants that provided a basis for extensive staff development, including visiting other schools with model programs, bringing in consultants, and sending teachers to workshops that were carefully chosen to support the school's vision and philosophy.

Key Issues in Struggling Schools

Struggling schools put forward insufficient energy to obtain extra resources that could provide relief and support to teachers as they learned about, planned for, and implemented new approaches. Instead, the schools waited for the district to provide these resources.

When struggling schools did seek resources, they were applied to reinforcing traditional approaches rather than implementing improved approaches. In some schools, only a few teachers could take advantage of opportunities and resources, so innovation and interest was found in small pockets of the faculty. Overall, struggling schools did not have a well-articulated direction and could not make good decisions about the application of resources to support a coherent vision of education.

Resources: A Critical Component of SBM

Schools need resources if they are to take on the responsibilities needed for changing teaching and learning practices. We found evidence of significant differences between actively restructuring schools and struggling schools in how they cultivated resources outside the school. All schools, however, continued to be restricted by district budgeting systems that allowed little flexibility.

Finding: **Actively restructuring schools cultivated resources from outside the school through involvement in professional networks and through entrepreneurial activity in the local business community. This cultivation of outside resources was not found in struggling schools.**

Actively restructuring schools recognized that they needed additional resources to take on the new tasks that SBM demanded. These schools often joined professional networks, such as the Coalition of Essential Schools, for the additional resources that such networks provided, particularly in terms of staff development opportunities.

Actively restructuring schools also were very active in their entrepreneurial, outreach efforts. For example, some principals served on boards of local business groups or regularly attended their meetings. Other principals diligently fostered press relations with local newspapers. And actively restructuring schools vigorously cultivated other outside resources, approaching universities for professional development, area businesses for advice on technology, and private foundations and educational networks for financial support. It was not uncommon for an actively restructuring school to receive additional resources from two or three outside agencies. The Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools also found that support by outside groups and resources was critical for successfully changing teaching and learning practices and implementing curriculum and instruction innovations (Newmann and Wehlage 1995). Struggling schools typically did not have this support, nor did they actively seek it out.

Finding: **All schools continued to be restricted by district-driven finance systems that did not provide them with adequate flexibility over school funds.**

SBM requires a new school finance system. Most states have a district-centered finance system. Money is raised by county, state, and federal taxes, paid to the state and federal government, and distributed to local school districts. Schools receive resources—teachers, books, transportation—but they rarely receive money from the district. As Geraci (1996) found, this lack of local control over the budget is perhaps

the biggest obstacle to authentic SBM. The district emphasis on budgetary control needs to change to a school orientation if effective decentralized management is to be implemented.

Decentralizing budget power to the school is the major substantive fiscal route for tying SBM to the school finance system. This shift would entail a state budget providing most dollars in a lump sum directly to schools. This radical approach already is happening in states with charter school and public school choice programs and in other countries including New Zealand and Australia.

The less dramatic and more practical approach would be for states to require that districts allocate 85 to 90 percent of all dollars—both general and categorical—to schools in a lump sum. This policy would ensure that the bulk of dollars would be available for use at the school, and it would not disrupt the overall district or school finance structure within any state. Districts taking this approach often continue to pay teachers at the district level and "charge" each school only the average salary for each teacher.

In sum, we found that the organizational conditions detailed in Chapters 1 through 7 were critical for promoting learning and integrating processes and enabling more innovative teaching practices. With the exception of rewards, each condition highlighted significant differences between actively restructuring and struggling schools. It also was apparent that the conditions were more powerful when two or more of them were present. Having the power to make decisions, for example, became much more meaningful when participants had the knowledge and skills to make good decisions. When more of the conditions were in place, we found additional learning and integrating processes and more innovative teaching practices.

8

Organizational Learning and Integrating Processes

To successfully implement school-based management that leads to innovation and performance improvement, the school has to become an effective learning community. The next component of our model deals with the processes needed for participants to operate effectively in a SBM setting and to generate new ways of teaching and learning.

Implementation of SBM has been described as a learning process (Marsh 1994). This argument is based on the assumption that SBM constitutes fundamental large-scale change that requires staff members to develop new understandings of the organization; new behaviors and roles; and new structures, systems, and organizational processes (Ledford, Mohrman, Mohrman, and Lawler 1989). School participants must collectively learn how to operate differently through an iterative process of design and redesign (Mohrman and Cummings 1989). The additional argument being made here is that within an SBM design, ongoing learning must occur for participants to continually improve the education being offered throughout the school. This thinking is consistent with findings that organizations that are able to continually improve their performance over time have established the organizational con-

ditions of high involvement but also have in place ongoing improvement processes to introduce new technical and organizational approaches.

One way to think about SBM is as a new social architecture designed to lead to new capabilities. Proponents and implementers of SBM envision these capabilities in terms of schools that are able to continuously improve their performance, thus achieving higher educational outcomes for students. Learning processes are ongoing and iterative. School participants generate changes in their teaching and managerial processes that demand changes in the way they are organized and vice versa. By establishing collaborative forums for the exercise of decision-making power, teachers may find ways to collaborate in the delivery of instruction, which may in turn lead to further changes in coordination and organizational arrangements to support new approaches to teaching and learning. This iterative process makes possible ongoing learning and continual change. This is exactly the process depicted by Darling-Hammond (1996) in her description of high-performing schools in New York City.

Considerable agreement is emerging about the nature of organizational learning and the dynamics that must be established in order for an organization to learn (e.g., Senge 1990, Brown and Daguid 1991, Shaw and Perkins 1992). Seven dynamics appear repeatedly in this literature: dialogue about purpose, rich connectedness among participants, holistic thinking, learning from experience, connection to external environment, personal mastery, and involvement of all participants in learning processes. These dynamics enable organizational members to think out of the box and make changes in the organizational system that allow it to better achieve its mission. The dynamics also allow participants to make ongoing incremental changes that have systemic impact.

Dialogue about Purpose

Actively restructuring schools evidenced an ongoing dialogue about the school's purpose, vision, and model of education. This dialogue enabled participants to develop a common understanding of what they wanted their school to become so they could collectively work to accomplish it. This relates to the organizational condition of having an instructional guidance mechanism.

In the actively restructuring schools, an ongoing discussion about direction and purpose framed discussions about what changes to introduce and what performance outcomes were important. Struggling schools lacked this dialogue about the school's purpose. They also lacked common understanding of what the school was to become as they themselves became mired in power struggles.

Rich Connectedness Among Participants

Actively restructuring schools had rich informational linkages and connectedness among participants, including practice-based learning (Brown and Daguid 1991) that allowed people to learn from others' experiences and points of view. These linkages have also been found to "encourage teachers to see their schools as friendly and caring places" (Byrk, Lee, and Holland 1993, p. 278). In actively restructuring schools, this connectedness among participants was enabled by the rich network of organizational decision-making forums, common planning periods, and collaborative teaching teams. But the connectedness also occurred informally in shared office areas and teacher lounges, and through sharing of materials and lesson plans.

Struggling schools failed to develop this connectedness among participants. Mechanisms that allowed only a few school constituents to be involved in the decision-making process—and the resulting mistrust of those unable or unwilling to participate in SBM activities—

broke down existing connections among colleagues and built barriers instead.

Holistic Thinking

Participants in actively restructuring schools spent time thinking about the whole school organization rather than simply the components of the school. They talked about values and approaches that cut across subjects, grade levels, and isolated classrooms. They talked about how activities in one part of the system affected others. They made decisions based on what would be best for the school overall instead of making political trade-offs among various parts of the school, as was commonplace in struggling schools. This learning process was particularly hard to accomplish in high schools, where teachers were embedded in departments. Even the council members in successful schools often saw themselves as advocates for a subsystem of the school.

Learning from Experience

Actively restructuring schools examined their own functioning on a continuing basis and made decisions based on expected impact on performance outcomes. They learned from their experiences. Assessing changes; piloting new approaches; and measuring, examining, and seeking causes of trends were manifestations of this self-reinforced learning.

Struggling schools failed to learn from experience because they were not focused on a common understanding of what the school was to become. Instead, strife was a reoccurring theme as school participants fought to define and defend their authority.

Connection to External Environment

Actively restructuring schools had rich connections with the external environment, both as a source of technical learning (from research and innovations in other schools) and for learning about environmental requirements, such as community preferences and changes. This connection included regular information about how well the school was doing in meeting community requirements and how it compared to other similar schools.

Actively restructuring schools shared learnings from articles and conferences. They also learned from external speakers and visited other schools and organizations. Many of these schools were also members of professional networks, such as the National Alliance or the Coalition of Essential Schools, which were sources of new ideas. The actively restructuring schools also surveyed their communities, stayed in contact with families, and learned about what was happening in the businesses and companies that would eventually employ their students. This connection to the external environment was lacking in struggling schools, where participants were focused inward rather than outward.

Personal Mastery

SBM also entails the establishment of ongoing activities for school members to develop personal mastery with new skills, expanded knowledge, and changed roles. Developing personal mastery includes but is not limited to formal staff development. It involves a deeper knowledge in pedagogical approaches and subject-matter content, but it also entails learning in areas that represent an expansion of capabilities, such as organizational skills like budgeting and planning.

Personal mastery was an arena that least differentiated actively restructuring schools from struggling schools. Collective learning dynamics, it appeared, had far more of an impact in stimulating change

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than did individual mastery. This finding reinforces the patterns found earlier. Staff development was present in all schools, but in the actively restructuring schools it was aimed at the development of overall system capability to achieve collective goals rather than simply personal goals.

Personal mastery is no doubt a key ingredient of organizational learning. The people in high-performing organizations need broader and deeper skills and capabilities and to learn how to carry out changing roles. What this pattern indicates is that personal mastery is not the key driver of SBM, nor is it sufficient to enable a school to transform how it does business.

Involvement of All Participants in Learning Processes

In struggling schools, the school-level learning activities described in the first six dynamics occurred in small pockets, such as councils or design teams, or among a small group of highly active teachers. But these dynamics appeared throughout the organization in actively restructuring schools. Actively restructuring schools thoughtfully designed participation mechanisms to facilitate interaction across the traditional boundaries of departments and grade levels, which helped to develop the school as a learning community. (See also findings from David's [1995/1996] research on SBM and the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools' [Newmann and Wehlage 1995] conclusions about school restructuring for similar findings about the importance of many decision-making groups for building a learning community.) Again, this finding reinforced the notion that learning is a collective process. If an organization is to learn to operate differently, the dynamics of learning must be widespread.

In summary, the SBM schools that were successful in introducing innovations were those where participants were collectively learning. They discussed purposes, examined their processes, learned from one

another, thought about the school as a whole rather than concentrating on segments, and actively interacted with and learned from the environment. These activities were not limited to a small governance council. They characterized the whole school, and they led to innovations in teaching and learning in the classroom.

9

Conclusion

Our findings suggest that creating school-site councils—typically the first step in implementing SBM—will not automatically result in improvements in teaching and learning. SBM initiatives must be augmented by two important factors: (1) a range of organizational conditions that facilitates interactions among various stakeholders and (2) ambitious curriculum and instructional reforms that provide a direction for those interactions. SBM can help facilitate school improvement, but without a clearly defined set of instructional goals, SBM may be inadequate for improving school performance. This is a critical component of SBM that often is overlooked during the implementation process (Guskey and Peterson 1995/1996).

Although school performance has been the ultimate outcome of most SBM plans, we found this quite difficult to measure for a number of reasons. We had to rely on the presence of teaching innovations to indicate performance improvement, and many of the schools we studied did not have a long enough track record with the innovations for us to systematically evaluate impact. Furthermore, most schools did not have meaningful trend data about the educational outcomes that they were pursuing. School personnel had low comfort levels with issues of outcome measurement and accountability. For this reason,

some schools did not rigorously evaluate changes, nor did they collect and array outcome data even for problem-solving purposes.

The measurement issue is critical for schools because measurement is a key to organizational improvement (Deming 1986, Hammer and Champy 1993). In fact, we argue that measurement and frequent performance feedback are key elements of SBM if it is to lead to changes that will improve educational outcomes. Measurement is also an important issue for research, because demonstrating outcomes is a key element for demonstrating efficiency. Given the current state of information in the schools we studied, we focused largely on empirical data regarding the extent to which new approaches to teaching and learning were being implemented. But this should not be interpreted as downplaying the importance of outcomes; measures of student performance are an area for further inquiry in SBM research.

From our findings, it is clear that school improvement is a long-term process involving a redesign of the whole school organization, and it can be slowed at any number of points along the way. Thus, it makes sense for schools to monitor the course of change, taking corrective actions on a timely basis to increase the chances that the reform effort will continue to progress.

The successful schools we visited had been working on this process for several years, and they were learning about and gradually putting in place the elements of effective SBM and educational improvement. Providing schools with the time to make adjustments and work together to learn throughout the process is a finding that has been reiterated in several studies of SBM (i.e., Geraci 1996, Guskey and Peterson 1995/1996). Likewise, the successful districts we studied were gradually introducing changes in the information, accountability, and control systems to enable schools to become self-improving entities, better able to effectively manage themselves. They also were introducing changes to the district-level organization to support and stimulate school-level improvement.

SBM requires a redesign of the whole school organization going

far beyond a change in school governance. Too many schools have assumed that SBM occurs with average levels of commitment and energy. Our research found that successful SBM is a time-consuming and complicated process that places high demands on all involved. Schools struggled with SBM when they simply layered it on top of what they already were doing. Such schools did not redesign their schedules to encourage teacher interaction during the regular school day. Often, meetings were held after school and were poorly attended. Further, teachers experienced strong feelings of isolation because there were no meetings at which they and other stakeholders could interact around specific projects or tasks.

The transition to SBM is intended to fundamentally change a school's capacity for improvement by increasing the involvement of school-level stakeholders in managing the school and enhancing its performance. When successful, the transition is both pervasive and deep. It is pervasive because it requires change in almost all aspects of the organization: structures, roles, systems, instructional practices, human resource practices, and the skills and knowledge of participants. It is deep because it entails a fundamental change in people's understanding of the organization and their role in it. The schools that had introduced new approaches to instruction were those where the community of teachers learned new ways of teaching and expanded their view of their role in the organization beyond the confines of their classrooms.

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Appendix A

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Organizing for Successful School-Based Management

Why do some schools and districts thrive in a decentralized environment while others simply go through the motions? To determine what factors foster improved school performance through school-based management (SBM), researchers at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles spent more than four years studying schools and districts in the United States, Canada, and Australia. They report their findings—based on visits to 40 schools, interviews with 400 people, and archival and survey data—in this concise book.

Creating school-site councils—typically the first step in SBM efforts—is just that, a first step. SBM must be part of a focused, even passionate, quest for improvement. The study suggests that decentralized management works best when

- A range of key organizational conditions are present—for example, a school vision focused on school improvement and strong leadership from principals and teachers; and
- Four organizational resources, including the power to make or influence decisions and rewards for performance, are available to all school-site participants.

The authors also discuss seven dynamics that help a school become an effective learning community, a necessary element of successful SBM. These include ongoing conversations about teaching and learning; rich connections with the external environment; and a view of the school as a whole rather than as separate subjects, grade levels, and classrooms.

School-based management is a time-consuming, complicated process that places high demands on all involved. Efforts can be impeded at any number of points along the way. The research summarized in this book may make the difference in your SBM experience.

Priscilla Wohlstetter, **Amy N. Van Kirk**, **Peter J. Robertson**, and **Susan A. Mohrman** are affiliated with the University of Southern California's Center on Educational Governance in Los Angeles.

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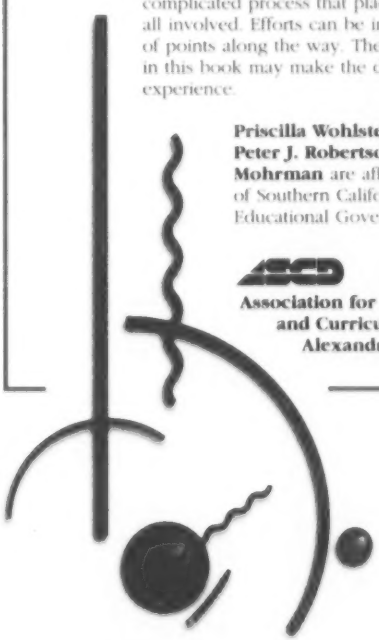

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